

A

REVIEW

OF THE

STATE

OF THE

ENGLISH NATION.

Tuesday, December 31. 1700.

I Am now come to one of the most weighty Objections, which our Antagonists have against the Union, and which they lay a great Stress upon; 'twould be endless to descend to all their Discourses upon that Head, they are so full of Words, and talk so much, it will not bear a Quotation, but in brief take them, as follows.

The Objection is the Equality of the Representative between *England* and *Scotland*, in the Parliament of *Britain*.

One says, 'tis subjecting *Scotland* to the *English* Nation; others say, 'tis subjecting the Church of *Scotland* to Episcopacy; others, that it is no sufficient security to the *Scots*, and Mr. H—s is very learned upon the Inequality of the Proportion, and says, *Scotland* is not fairly represented. My Answer shall be brief on this Head, because I think, 'tis answer'd in it self.

As to subjecting *Scotland* in Church and State to the *English* Nation, I think, I have answer'd it in some of my former, in speaking to the Nature of the Treaty, and the Nature of the subsequent Parliament, in which every thing for the Safety and Liberty of *Scotland*, that can be demanded, is reserv'd out of the Power of Parliament; and this I undertake to joyn Issue upon when they please, and to defend: For where there are Conditions, there can be no subjecting a Nation or any Surrender of Right, as is vainly alledg'd, they are Contradictions in the Nature: *England* subject themselves to the Crown, and yet *England* is called a free Nation, and is so: 'Tis on Condition to be govern'd so and so, and the Crown is bound by it. Does *England* surrender her Liberties? Is she not tenacious of them to the last

last Degree? How absurd is this Way of arguing?

That a Treaty is no sufficient Security, I have fully answer'd, in that it cannot be broken by the Parliament, without dissolving themselves, and destroying all Manner of Right and Regard to Justice in *England*, as well as *Scotland*.

As to the Proportion of Members, about which Mr. H—s is so very particular, it may be necessary to examine a little into it.

I shall not enter into the Enquiry, whether Payment of Taxes, and the Measure of Wealth in a Nation be the best Way of determining this Matter, or no. Let Mr. P—s and him alone to fight out that Affair, tho' as the Power of a Nation is now more consistent in its Wealth than People, much more might be said on that Head.

Nor will I deny, but even in *England*, that Part of our Representative, which relates to Burroughs, is not so well poiz'd as could be wish'd; the Fate of Towns, Trade and differing Providences, having alter'd the Face of this Nation very much, since the last Settlement of our Representative.

But I'll go back beyond this; Mr. H—s and I agree, that the Inheritance carries with it the Right of being represented, that is, of being govern'd by Laws of our own making; and that this is a Right, the Freeholders, or as they call them in *Scotland*, the Heritors, cannot be divest'd of, nor can divest themselves of; and that they are not at all divest'd of it in this Parliament, I have already prov'd.

I shall now prove, that on this Foundation, neither Lords nor Commons in *Scotland* receive any real Injury in the proportion'd Number now speaking of, and that there is no better or more rational Way of judging.

Mr. H—s has to my Hand own'd, That a Freeholder is not to be reckon'd by the Value or by the Rent of his Freehold at all, but by the Poll; and a Freeholder of 40*l. per Annum*, by Law must have as much Right to a Voice in choosing a Representative, as he that has 4000*l. per Annum*, and here in *England* it is so.

Now, I'll take it either Way, and let

any Gentleman make an Estimate, either of the Value of the Freeholds, or of their Number of Freeholders in *England* or in *Scotland*; and I undertake to prove, that the Representative allotted in the Parliament of *Britain* is a full Proportion, and rather over than under.

Now, because in both Kingdoms the Nobility and Knights of the Shire are the only Representative of the Freehold, and the Members of Corporations are not concern'd in it; yet as the several Burghs or Corporations are by Grant from the Freehold, they may be consider'd together, as representing Persons qualified to be Freeholders by their Wealth, or serviceable to it by their Commerce.

Take then the Knights of Shires in *Scotland*, against the Knights of Shires in *England*, or take the whole 45, as if chosen by the Heritors in *Scotland*, against the 413, as if chosen by the Freeholders in *England*, and it will appear, the Proportion is every Way to the Advantage of *Scotland*. And if these Gentlemen will tell us, which Handle they will take it by, they are welcome to make the Calculate, as soon as they please.

The annual Rents in *England* are suppos'd to make 12 Millions, of which I account 5 Millions Sterling to be Freehold. The Numbers of Freeholders in *England* may be guess'd by examining the Poll, where we have found the Counties of *Suffolk*, *Kent*, *Essex*, and several others have been poll'd near 6000 each, and *Yorkshire*, as I have heard, 19000. As to the Value of Freeholds, or Number of Freeholders in *Scotland*, I leave that to the Calculation of others.

And if then, either by the Value of Freehold, or Number of Freeholders in *Britain*, the Proportion for *Scotland* is just, I can see no Room for the Objections now made against the Representative, as proportion'd by the Union. Indeed Mr. H—s, his Proposition of stating the Freehold of Understanding, and choosing by the Stock of Brains, a thing I dare not enter into the Calculation of, I leave it to him: Nor shall I debate the Influence the Ladies have in the Union with him, these Matters are fit to be merrily about, when the Union is over.

over. But setting Jest aside, I presume to affirm, he shall not find a more suitable Way to determine the Proportion, than what I have now stated.

Asto the Nobility — They are in this Sense only Capital Freeholders, and their Original Honour began in their extraordinary Possessions, and 'tis an Honour to their Lordships with their Blood to have continued their Possession: I need therefore add nothing to this, the Proportion is the same Way to be tried, their Lordships represent themselves, and being by this Calculate only restrain'd in Number, the Me-

thod of determining it being left to their Lordships, their Hereditary Honour of sitting in the Parliament is presum'd, and their Lordships are compleatly represented, when they are not there; and withal in Lieu of the small Interruption, the Necessity of the Treaty gives them, they are as an Equivalent of Honour, regal'd with being universally admitted Peers in *England* as well as *Scotland*, or in the Words of the Treaty, Peers of *Britain*; the whole Nobility of the Island forming the greatest and most illustrious Body in the World.

MISCELLANEA.

LET any Man judge, whether the Hints given in the late *Miscellanea* of these Papers, are not thus far just; when I have been speaking of the Parties in *Scotland*, who oppose the Union, since all the Com-motions which have hitherto happen'd, and which some Flegmatick Gentlemen in *Eng-land* have, for Ends of their own, magnify'd to such a Heighth, have hitherto amounted to no more than to let a Detachment of 200 Dragoons enter the Country and the Town in which their Insults had been most violent, and take out of their Houses and before their Faces their Leaders and Cap-tains, and lead them away in Triumph; the whole Party looking on, and not daring to lift up their Hands to save them.

And thus all the Fears of Tumult, Hurry and Arms are vanish'd, and the Parliament go on fairly and gently with the Articles of Union, and all the Amendments, we see hitherto, amount to nothing capable of obstructing the grand Subject of the Treaty.

What a Mortification will this be to the Party in *England*, who have built their Hopes upon the mighty threatening Rabbles in the West of *Scotland*, and the great things they would do?—Now all is vanish'd into Smoke and Air, and their drooping Cause will have no Help that Way.

Then let them step but to *Edinburgh Castle*, and see the two poor despicable

Wretches, on the Hope of whose Interest and Conduct this Project was built; and first to the Honour and Glory of the Cause they may hear; *General Finley*, as they jestingly call him there, who was the Chief of this Mob, and who led forth the Army of nine and fifty Men to support the Kirk, and raise the Parliament; there I say, they may hear this miserable Creature insolently declaring himself a *Jacobite*, and owning his Design was to restore his young Master, to which he thought this the most effectual Method, *Viz.* By inflaming the Nation; and bringing them to Arms, so that the Con-solation of the General might leave Room to introduce the Particular.

And here not only the People of *Glasgow* may be convinc'd, and I hope are so by this time, by whom they have been agitated, and what the Design of the Parties there are, in blowing the Coals of Strife in that Nation; but the People of *England* may see also, what is on Foot in the World, and who they are in both Kingdoms, that are Enemies to the Union in general.

As to the *Glasgow* Men, I shall in the next give you a Letter printed at *Edin-burg*, and sent to the *Glasgow* Men, which I am satisfied, open'd some of their Eyes, and tho' could not remedy what was past, yet has, I believe, furnish'd them with some Helps against the like Attempts; I dare say,

ity, they are somewhat wiser than they were.

And, as it generally is in such Cases, the Tumult must have done some Service in the whole; in that it has help'd the People there to some Experience, and let them into the Secrets of their Enemies, by which I doubt not they will find it harder to impose upon them for the Time to come.

I heartily wish all Attempts of the same Nature, as easily defeated as well as detested—The Consequence now being only this, that the Forces being now sent to Quarter there, the Citizens of *Glasgow* have brought Troops of Horse upon them, as the natural Consequence of Tumults oppressing the Civil Magistrate.

WHereas a malicious Report has been spread about, that the Author of the REVIEW being in Scotland, the REVIEW is not perform'd by the same Person, as usual—Which Report is carefully banded about to lessen the Reputation and Value of the said Paper.

This is, First, to assure the World, that no Person whatever has or ever had any Concern in writing the said Paper Entitled the REVIEW—That wherever the Author may be, the Papers are wrote with his own Hand, and the Originals may be seen at the Printers.

Secondly, the Judgment of the Gentlemen, that spread this Report, must be very good; that can neither guess at the Style, nor guess by the Story or Manner of it both, whether it be the Author's, and where the Author is.

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